

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 414

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN OBSERVATIONS IN WUHAN AND CHANGSHA

1. SUMMARY: DURING A MARCH 4-7 VISIT TO WUHAN AND CHANGSHA, USLO OFFICER OBSERVED NUMEROUS INDICATIONS THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE TWO CITIES WERE USING THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING AS A VEHICLE FOR CRITICIZING LOCAL LEADERS. POSTERS OR SLOGANS CRITICIZING TENG HSIAO-PING AND LOCAL "CAPITALIST ROADERS" COULD BE SEEN ON THE STREETS OF BOTH CITIES. THE SLOGANS WERE FAR MORE NUMEROUS IN CHANGSHA AND INCLUDED STRONG CRITICISM OF HUNAN SECOND SECRETARY (AND ACTING CHIEF) CHANG PING-HUA. NO OTHER LOCAL LEADERS APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN NAMED AS YET AND IN BOTH WUHAN AND CHANGSHA THE LATEST CRITICISM MATERIAL SEEMED TO BE AT LEAST A WEEK OLD. NO TENSION WAS EVIDENT ON THE STREETS AND THE IMPRESSION GAINED WAS THAT FOR THE MOMENT, LEADERS IN BOTH PROVINCES--AND CITIES--HAD THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL SLOGANS OBSERVED ALONG THE RAILWAY LINE SUGGESTED CONTINUING PROBLEMS WITH DISCIPLINE ON PRC RAILWAYS. END SUMMARY.

2. WUHAN. PERHAPS A DOZEN SLOGANS WERE SEEN PAINTED ON WALLS

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IN WUHAN ATTACKING TENG AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN HUPEH PROVINCE.

SOME SLOGANS REFERRED TO TENG AS A "REVISIONIST BANDIT" (TENG HSIU-TSEI) AND CALLED FOR HIS OVERTHROWALONG WITH THE ERADICATION OF THE "HOME GOING LEGIONS" (THE HUAN HSIANG TUAN, EXPLAINED BY THE CTS GUIDE TO BE THE NAME ORIGINALLY APPLIED TO KMT ELEMENTS WHO CAME BACK TO COMMUNIST -CONTROLLED AREA FOR THE KMT AND NOW USED FOR ENEMY ELEMENTS WHO INFILTRATE THE PARTY TO TURN IT TOWARD REVISIONISM.)

3. OTHER SLOGANS REFERRED TO HUPEH'S OWN "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND CALLED FOR THEIR EXPOSURE. SEVERAL SLOGANS DEMANDED A JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO COMMITTEES (PRESUMABLY THE PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY AND PARTY COMMITTEES) TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF "CAPITALIST ROADERS" IN HUPEH. THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT THE LEADERS HAD HEEDED THIS CALL TO HOLD THE MEETING. MOST OF THE SLOGANS OBSERVED WERE NEAR THE NORTHERN END OF THE YANGTSE RIVER BRIDGE. THEY WERE, HOWEVER, ISOLATED AND OVERALL THERE WERE REMARKABLY FEW SLOGANS AND POSTERS RELATED TO THE CAMPAIGN IN WUHAN.

4. AT WUHAN UNIVERSITY, THE BRIEFER TOOK A RELAXED VIEW OF THE ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN IN THE EDUCATION FIELD. HE REFERRED TO THE RECENT PEOPLE'S DAILY REPORT ON THE MEETINGS HELD AT WUHAN UNIVERSITY TO DEBATE THIS ISSUE AND ADDED CONFIDENTLY THAT THEIR UNIVERSITY HAD ALL ALONG ADHERED TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S LINE IN THE EDUCATION FIELD. WHEN QUESTIONED, HE SAID THE UNIVERSITY HAD "HEARD" OF THE EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE PRC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM LAST SUMMER, BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO DIRECT INFLUENCE OF THIS LINE AT WUHAN UNIVERSITY. THE UNIVERSITY, ACCORDING TO THE BRIEFER, HAD NO ONE IN ITS ADMINISTRATION LIKE TSINGHUA'S LIU PING, AND IN FACT EVEN BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN WITH INSTRUCTIONS FROM LIU SHAO-CHI'S FORCES IN THE CENTER RATHER THAN WITH THE LOCAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION. POSTERS OBSERVED AROUND THE CAMPUS WERE IPO FORMA ATTACKS ON THE "THREE DIRECTIVES."

5. THE GENERAL IMPRESSION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN WUHAN GAINED BY AN OUTSIDER WAS THAT THE CITY WAS WATCHING EVENTS IN PEKING CLOSELY, TRYING NOT TO GET AHEAD NOR LAG TOO FAR BEHIND THE CAPITAL. THIS ATTITUDE WAS BEST EXEMPLIFIED BY THE COMMENT OF AN OBVIOUSLY "MOVEMENT WISE" CHINA INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL SERVICE  
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GUIDE WHO WHEN ASKED ABOUT TENG'S DECLINE ANSWERED "WE TRUST CHAIRMAN MAO AND THE PARTY CENTER TO MAKE THE CORRECT CHOICE OF LEADERS." FOR THE PRESENT, WUHAN LEADERSHIP SEEMED TO HAVE THINGS UNDER TIGHT CONTROL AND THE CITY'S CALM WAS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE FACTIONAL FIGHTING THAT RACKED THE CITY DURING THE 1974 ANTI-LIN PIAO, ANTI-CONFUCIOUS CAMPAIGN.

6. CHANGSHA. CHANGSHA HAD MANY MORE POSTERS AND SLOGANS THAN

WUHAN AND THE USLO OFFICER OBSERVED DOZENS ATTACKING TENG HSIAO-PING AND HUNAN SECOND SECRETARY (AND ACTING CHIEF) CHANG PING-HUA. BOTH WERE ACCUSED OF BEING "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND PROMOTERS OF THE "RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND." CHANG WAS SAID IN SEVERAL SLOGANS TO HAVE BEEN TENG'S "SLAVE" IN CARRYING OUT RIGHTIST POLICIES IN THE PROVINCE AND WAS REFERRED TO AS "HUNAN'S LEADING CAPITALIST ROADER." CHANG WAS ALSO ATTACKED IN ONE POSTER FOR HIS DECEMBER 25, 1975 SPEECH WHICH SUPPOSEDLY PUT FORTH THE RIGHTIST LINE AND FOR OPPOSING CHAIRMAN MAO'S CENTRAL DIRECTIVE NO. 10 OF 1973. AN UNSPECIFIED "EIGHT POINTS" OF THE PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE WERE CRITICIZED AS WELL AS THE RELUCTANCE OF THE HUNA DAILY TO JOIN IN THE ANTI-CHANG CAUSE. SOME WRITERS EXPRESSED PARTICULAR INDIGNATION THAT SUCH RIGHTIST ACTIVITIES COULD HAPPEN IN MAO'S HOME AREA. MOST OF THE SLOGANS APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN UP FOR SOME TIME AND THE MOST RECENT DATED POSTER WAS WRITTEN ON FEBRUARY 28.

7. MOST BLANK WALLS IN DOWNTOWN CHANGSHA HAD THESE SLOGANS SCRAWLED ON THEM OR MORE INNOCUOUS ONES ATTACKING THE "THREE DIRECTIVES" OR THE "RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND." IN ADDITION, CHANGSHA WAS FULL OF SLOGANS ON RED PAPER PUT UP AROUND DOORS FOR THE SPRING FESTIVAL EXPRESSING THE USUAL PRAISE FOR THE PARTY, THE CHAIRMAN, AND OTHER STANDARD THEMES. OTHER SLOGANS REFERRED TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL CONTROL PROGRAM OF "FACING THE SUN COURTYARDS" (HSIANG YANG YUAN) AND SOMETHING CALLED "GREAT SOCIALIST COURTYARDS."

8. DESPITE THE MANY SLOGANS AND POSTER, THERE WAS A SENSE THAT THE ANTI-RIGHTEST CAMPAIGN IN CHANGSHA WAS MOVING SLOWLY AND WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE NAMING OF TENG IT MAY NOT HAVE ADVANCED MUCH BEYOND THE POINT OBSERVED ALOMST A MONTH AGO BY THE SOURCE OF THE BRITSH REPORT CITED IN PEKING 256. NO MAJOR POSTERS APPEARED TO HAVE GONE UP IN THE PAST WEEK  
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AND THE EARLIER ONES WERE ATTRACTING VERY LITTLE ATTENTION. ALMOST ALL OF THE ANTI-RIGHTEST POSTERS AND SLOGANS SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN PUT UP BY TWO OR THREE GROUPS. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE ON THE SURFACE THAT THEIR EFFORTS HAD LED TO ANY UPHEAVAL IN THE CITY AND THERE WAS NO DISCERNIBLE TENSION ON THE STREETS.

9. HSIANGTAN. THE FRESHEST POSTER CAMPAIGN NOTED BY USLO OFFICER WAS IN THE SMALL TOWN OF HSIANGTAN, HUNAN, SOUTH OF CHANGSHA. FIVE OR SIX FRESH SLOGANS HAD BEEN PUT UP ON BUILDINGS ON THE MAIN STREET PROCLAIMING THAT THE TOWN'S REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE CONTAINED "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND DEMANDING THEIR REMOVAL. PERHAPS REFLECTING INCREASED DANGER OF REPRISALS IN A SMALLER CITY, THE POSTER WRITERS OF HSIANGTAN DELICATELY OMITTED NAMING PERSONS THEY HAD IN MIND.

10. RAILWAY DISPUTES. THE NUMBER OF SLOGANS REFERRING TO THE ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN VISIBLE ALONG THE PEKING:CHANGSHA RAIL LINE WAS MINIMAL EXCEPT IN THE REGION BETWEEN PEKING AND PEOTING. THE PRIME TOPIC OF SLOGANS ALONG THE TRACK AS USUAL, WAS THE TACHAI CAMPAIGN AND NATIONWIDE EFFORT TO DEVELOP CHINESE AGRICULTURE. SLOGANS IN TWO AREAS, HOWEVER, POINTED TO RAILWAY MANAGEMENT DIFFICULTIES.

11. THE NEW SOMEWHAT TATTERED POSTERS AT LOHO CRITICIZING RAILWAY MINISTER WAN LI (5502/6849) AND SU HUA (5685/5478) FOR ATTEMPTING TO STRANGLE THE "NEW BORN THINGS" OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND TENG HSIAO-PING FOR SUPPORTING THEM ARE STILL THERE AS WELL AS A NEWER POSTER PRAISING THE CENTER FOR SETTLING AN UNIDENTIFIED CHENGCHOW RAILWAY DISPUTE (HONG KONG 2072). THERE WERE NO OTHER OBSERVED REFERENCES TO WAN LI ALONG THE LINE, BUT SU HUA WAS CRITICIZED IN MANY SLOGANS FOR SEVERAL MILES ON BOTH SIDES OF LOHO. NO SLOGANS WERE VISIBLE AT THE CHENGCHOW RAILWAY STATION REFERRING TO THE DISPUTE.

12. NUMEROUS SLOGANS BETWEEN YUEH TANG AND CHANGSHA, HUNAN, SUGGESTED RAILWAY OFFICIALS THERE HAD HAD PROBLEMS WITH SABOTAGE, VANDALISM, PILFERING, OR A COMBINATION OF THESE. THE SLOGANS CALLED ON THE PEOPLE TO PROTECT THE RAILWAY AS WELL AS ITS EQUIPMENT AND MATERIALS. A COMMON SLOGAN WAS THAT PROTECTION OF THE RAILWAY WAS EVERYONE'S RESPONSIBILITY. THESE SLOGANS WERE NOT SEEN IN OTHER AREAS AND HAD NOT BEEN OBSERVED IN PREVIOUS RAIL

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TRAVEL BY USLO OFFICERS.

13. MISSING THEMES. ALMOST AS INTERESTING AS THE OBSERVED SLOGANS WERE THE THEMES NOT SEEN ALONG THE RAILWAY OR IN THE CITIES VISITED. THERE WERE NO REFERENCES OBSERVED TO THE "FOUR MODERNIZATIONS," THE FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, NOR, WITH THE SINGLE EXCEPTION OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC DISPLAY IN CHANGSHA, TO CHOU EN-LAI. THAYER

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